/277 cont./

556 562 Hence they constitute true hereditary property of which the women are the usufructuaries and from the possession of which they draw extreme haughtiness and arrogance.

556 Lastly, other elements of wealth are tied in an even more intimate fashion to the social structure. In a collectivity whose [181] clearest activity is expended in chants and dances, everything used for ritual ornamentation /278/ has a special value. This is 556 why feathers, the real raw material for social and religious dis- 237 plays, form a wealth of a completely special kind. Each native [415] has a capital of feathers, carefully kept in long boxes of cylindrical [435] wood, which have a fixed "market price" according to kind, color, and form. There are common and precious ones. But the 556 use of each type of valuable feather is the privilege of one clan. 237 The ordinary feathers are also regulated: their use, the type of 614 object in the composition of which they enter, the technique of manufacture, and finally the style vary with the clan. This 556 614 specialization extends to practically the totality of manufactured products: arrows, bows, weapons, necklaces, pendants, head-dresses, etc. Further on we will set forth what we were able to gather on these social privileges. All the clans are not equal as to the variety of arms and ornaments which they have the right to make, nor as to the rarity of raw materials which they alone have the right to utilize. Some clans, for example, can make several types of bows, others only one; some have rich ornaments among their prerogatives, while others are limited to modest forms or materials.

571 To all these secondary distinctions which we have previously 614 enumerated, an economic hierarchy of rich, modest, and poor clans should be added. The ᵃKario Bokodori clan, extinct in Kejara, was especially rich according to the natives; the clans or subclans Āróre Čåbōgeʷōge, Ewåguddudoge Čåbōgeʷōge, and Ewåguddudoge bo'pokejewōge are rich. At a more modest level are the Ki, Kōge, Čiba, Bakoro, Bóro, Paiwe, Apiborege, Ewåguddudoge baiaddadaᵃge, and O Čera clans.

The Bādejebage Čębegeʷōge were given to us as especially poor.

its ceremonial obligations. It is felt that each clan should have its own house, but if the number of people in the clan is too large, additional houses can be built.

Preferential marriage between particular lineages is supported by myths. Marriages are all contracted between the two moieties except for two cases within the Echerae moiety. Otherwise marriages within the same moiety are frowned on. Marriage does not establish an alliance between two groups. Rather, marriage is the result of an alliance which was established by other means in the mythical past.

All important events in a person's life, such as naming, initiation, and death, are marked by songs and ceremonies. The ceremonies on the occasion of death are particularly long and elaborare. Traditional songs, each of which belongs to a particular clan, are in a poetic language not understood by many contemporary Bororo.

Today the old ways of life are disappearing. Hunting and gathering have become fruitless in a changed and impoverished environment and have been almost completely given up. Many ceremonies are not held anymore. For lack of material, ornaments are not made according to the old standards. The colorful birds, the jaguars, and the other animals of the forest are gone. Yet the Bororo remain a proud people. They are proud of their heritage and often point out that all over western Mato Grosso potsherds and annatto plants planted by their ancestors attest the extent of their territory and the number of villages that existed in the past. They compare

They compare
181 the knowledge they have about their environment with the
82 knowledge of the Brazilian settlers. They know the origins
563 and the names of places, things, plants, and animals; the Brazilians do not. The Bororo particularly stress the number of their myths and songs and the beauty of their ceremonies, especially the funeral ceremonies. The Brazilians, they say, bury their dead as they bury their dogs--under earth without any ceremony.

181 That knowledge is highly valued among the Bororo is sub-
828 stantiated by the fact that the chief of a village is always
622 the most knowledgeable man. Social status and functions are
554 connected with particular lineages and transmitted matrilin-
611 eally, but the true influential leaders and authorities are
613 the men who excel in knowoedge; i.e., they know the myths and
538 songs and their meanings; they know the exact sequence of
533 rituals and the important sacred and secret names of things.
788
552 Pobojari, the Bororo village where most of my research
101 was carried out, was situated halfway between the areas under the administration of the Indian Protection Service and the
121 missions. The choice of the village was determined by the fact that Pobojari was the only independent Bororo village, and we thought that it might be the least acculturated. My wife and I moved into the village in December, 1965, and we lived there until December, 1966. From January, 1967, until June we stayed in one of the missions. From July, 1967, to August we lived in Jarudori. Jarudori was once an important Bororo village but today has become a Brazilian settlement.

000their wives.

I am not going to make a summary of this short chapter, but I would like to say something about Bororo views on marriage and procreation. The first is conceptualized from a normative or ideal point of view, which conforms but poorly to actual behavior. Although one should marry members of specific lineages, this is rarely done. A man should not have a love affair with his brother's wife, but he often does. The wife should tolerate her husband's sexual relations with her sisters, but she usually does not. The native theories of procreation, on the other hand, express realistic recognition of actual events. If one's mother had intercourse with three men, all of them are the child's father. It is a good thing to have many fathers, since one can profit by it. Both views, the idealistic concerning marriage and the realistic concerning procreation, are recognized as legitimate and are taken into account. This is representative of one of the most outstanding Bororo attitudes: let us imagine that things are perfect, but let us get used to living with imperfections.

613 It is not known if the other two names, Badajeba Kudoro and
553 Jakorari, were actually used by the original Ki Bakororo, but
173 this is not important. It may have happened that ten generations after the original Ki Bakororo, two of his descendants with the nicknames of Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari made themselves famous and established their own separate lineages. But the relationship of equivalence is not directional, so the names Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari are retroactive, and the Bororo can say that Ki Bakororo is Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari.

• 181 Western anthropologists may consider themselves structuralists, but they still sometimes need historical explanations to understand better the structure of a system. The Bororo do not have this historical bias; their view of the world is entirely structural. We have already seen evidence of this world view in the symmetry of relationships between father and son and husband and wife and in the relationship of equivalence between a man and his name-giver; now it is evident in the hierarchical relationship among brothers who are "really the same person."

000 Ki Bakororo could be considered the unmarked term of this set, while Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari are marked. In this specific example, Badajeba Kudoro is also considered the unmarked member in opposition to Jakorari, because Badajeba Kudoro is his older brother, and the relationship is transitive.

613 also the older brother of Boroge (b), avoiding a direct answer
829 to the question. On the other hand, all the lineages from
[616] the same moiety are considered brothers, so when forced to give a straight answer the Bororo will say that they are brothers, appealing to the broadest sense of that term.

As we can imagine, this flexibility of interpretation--employing terms in either a narrow or a broad sense--gives the Bororo a great freedom to interpret the relationship between lineages as it best serves them in any given situation.
626 The difference of individual opinion is also great, and if a
[773] quarrel arises, the man who knows more mythical facts and
[181] ways to manipulate them will win the argument. But since the Bororo do not like to argue, there is an established unofficial hierarchy based on knowledge. The least knowledgeable, the one who is going to lose the argument, keeps his opinions to himself whenever a more knowledgeable man speaks.
124 The first thing I learned in the field was never to reveal the source of my information. Some of the Bororo would occasionally guess whose opinion it might be, but nevertheless they could not be completely sure if their suppositions were right or wrong. And, what was most important, my refusal to reveal my informant's name allowed the new informant to speak more freely because he was relieved of the fear that he too might be exposed to the criticism of the others.

551 The discussion at the beginning of this chapter illus-
613 trated the difficulty in distinguishing between personal names and lineage names. All the lineage names are also

114 121 772 time ago (1936: 178-97), imply that the units involved in the first case exchange dissimilar objects or acts (e.g. obedience for leadership) while those in the second case relate through the exchange of similar or equivalent things (women for women). To establish the validity of this deduction for the Bororo and to relate it to the contradiction mentioned above requires the exposition of another dimension of Bororo normative order, that found in the two origin myths" (1969: 50).

121 772 There are, however, two other logically possible "principles of organization:" First, like items could be equal: one monkey could be just as good as another; second, unlike items could be unequal. Although Crocker says that monkeys and armadillos are non-comparable, he then proceeds to compare them by saying that they are equal. If they are comparable then they could also be unequal: tapirs could be better, bigger, or handsomer than monkeys. Thus, there exist four logically possible kinds of relationships:

	inequality ignored	inequality recognized
like items	A	B
unlike items	C	D

772 181 It is my belief that the structure of the Bororo society rests upon the first three "principles of organization:"

772
● 181 A. Equality of like items, or the relationships of equivalence,[1]

B. Inequality of like items, or the relationships of proper inequality,

C. Equality of unlike items, or the relationships of symmetrical reciprocity.

I did not find the fourth possibility expressed in the Bororo social structure: inequality of unlike items; though the work of other researchers indicates that certain forms of hierarchical relationships may exist even between moieties (see page 186).

[61] All three kinds of relationships are expressed most clearly through the idiom of kinship, and all three are necessary to understand the Bororo social and cosmological universe. In previous chapters we have already had the opportunity to see some of these relationships at work. In this chapter I will present the case in greater detail.

A. Relationships of Equivalence

593 The first kind of relationship originates in that between a woman and her child, and by successive extensions includes the relationships between sister and brother (≈ child), sis-

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[1] Equality should be distinguished from equivalence. I consider two items to be equal if they have the same value in respect to some attribute (here it is social status). Equivalent items, in addition to having the same value in regard to the relevant attribute, are also like each other and substitutable for each other.

and other birds with colorful feathers. Thus, the red macaws are the Bokodori Echerae and by extension all the Echerae. According to another myth, the Tugarege too created red macaws and other colorful birds, but not by self-sacrifice; they transformed certain insects into birds. To a certain degree then, both moieties can claim the red macaws as their ancestors and consequently consider themselves equivalent to them.

B. Relationships of Proper Inequality

Most of the Bororo conceptual ideas are patterned after the relationship assumed to exist between older and younger brothers. This relationship is asymmetrical. To call somebody just "brother," without specifying his hierarchical position in relation to Ego, is impossible in the Bororo language. One is always older or younger. In the myths, even twins are clearly differentiated between older and younger. The emphasis on the inequality of brothers influenced my best informant's statement that he did not know of twins ever being born to a Bororo woman. This, perhaps, could have happened before the Flood, but according to a myth, the doe which engendered the Bororo after the Flood gave birth to one child after another in succession, never to two at once. And so, after the doe, do the Bororo women.

Some examples of this hierarchical arrangement have already been mentioned by Lévi-Strauss (1961: 183-231; 1963: 132-163). He noticed the opposition between center and periphery, man and woman, men's house and women's houses,

sacred and profane, ceremonial life and domestic activities, participants and spectators, the dead and the living. The patterning of subclan relationships on the model of the relationship existing between older and younger brother has been discussed in previous chapters. We have also discussed earlier the stock of names which are partially different for the two subclans of the same clan, and the differences in the activities commanded by the two important headmen Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori. In the following discussion the nature of this asymmetrical relationship will be presented more extensively and supplemented with additional data.

The Bororo clans, as we have seen, are divided into subclans of older brothers, which are Black and Big, and subclans of younger brothers, which are Small and Red. In reporting the origins of clan names, I recorded that the ancestors of the subclans differ in color and sex. The ancestor of the Big Paiwoe is pai choreu (black howling monkey), while their younger brothers have as ancestors the red counterparts of the same animals. Similarly, while the Black Araroe have araro imedu (male butterfly larva) as their ancestor, the Red Araroe have araro aredu (female butterfly larva). The Ivagududoge, too, divided their ancestors keao-keaodoge (kind of crow) into imedu (male), belonging to the older brothers' clan, and aredu (female), belonging to the younger brothers. The division is not restricted only to animals; many other beings and cultural items are subjected to similar differentiation: ancestors of the Black Ivagududoge are tugo choreu

614 Bakororo, chief of the village of the dead situated on the
773 West, is the older brother of Itubore, who is chief of the
[769] village of the dead on the East. Then the Tugarege gave their prerogatives to the Echerae. Baitogogo gave all of his possessions to Bakorokudi; Boroge gave his to Akaruyo Bokodori.

614 This is not the only evidence that the Badajebage
796 Chebegiwuge should be considered as the older brothers and the Badajebage Chobugiwuge as the younger ones. Most of the ceremonial performances given to them divided them in the same way. The Ivagududoge gave tugo choreu or imedu (the black or male arrow) to the Badajebage Chebegiwuge, and tugo kujaqureu or aredu (the red or female arrow) to the Badajebage
[825] Chobugiwuge. The Aroroe gave bakuquma choreu (the black falcon) to the Chebegiwuge, and the white falcon to the Chobugi-
[825] wuge. The Apiborege gave aroe echeba choreu (the black harpy eagle) to the Badajebage Chebegiwuge, aroe echeba tororeu (the white harpy eagle) to the Badajebage Chobugiwuge, and similarly they gave parabara eimejera (the chief of the wild tree-ducks) to the Chebegiwuge and parabara onaregedu (the young wild tree-duck) to the Chobugiwuge. There are several exceptions to this pattern, but the Bororo again feel com-
614 pelled to explain them by some particular circumstances. We
621 paid more attention to these two clans because Bakorokudu
● 181 and Akaruoy Bokodori are entitled to give orders for different communal activities. Bakorokudu gives orders for ceremonies, songs, and the feast of the spirits. Akaruyo Bokodori

gives orders for a communal hunt or fishing. The first one commands activities to be performed in the men's house or on the village plaza; the second one commands activities performed outside of the village. The first commands ceremonial, sacred activities; the second commands economic, profane activities. Here again we find a homologous relationship between older brother and male ancestor and younger brother and female ancestor expressed through the opposition between center and periphery; activities within the village and activities outside the village; the village and the forest; the men's house in the center of the village, as the place for making ornaments and performing ceremonies, and the women's houses around it, as the place where everyday life is carried on.

When they talk about the communal hunt, the Bororo say that in the past the headmen went with the hunters, but they themselves did not hunt; they only prevented their subjects from quarreling with each other; they kept order and peace and saw to it that the hunt went smoothly. In the village plaza and in the men's house, the leaders' place is in the center; the commoners sit around them. In addition to commanding the hunt, Akaruyo Bokodori is associated with war and killing. From stories and songs he is known as killer of many Bororo. Bakorokudu, on the other hand, is the peacemaker, a trait which he inherited from Baitogogo. Baitogogo is famous not only for his wisdom, but also for his mercy toward enemies. There are many stories about Baitogogo sav-

In a society where the majority of the terms of address are non-reciprocal, perhaps the function of these stories is to create and reinforce the idea of the possibility of reciprocity and equality.

Another instance of reciprocal address results from the initiation ceremonies. All the boys initiated at the same time are given a common name, which they later use in addressing each other. This name supersedes any other term, past or future, resulting from their kinship relationships. In Pobojari there were two survivors of the last initiation held there. Though they were sociologically related in many ways, they addressed each other reciprocally as Kuruye. Kuruye was the name given to all the initiates on that occasion. Other names that could have been chosen are Bachereuge, Adorodoge, Kunanae, and Inojiye. Though nobody ever recorded the existence of age classes among the Bororo, the existence of this group of boys bound together by the common experience of becoming full members of adult society at the same time, and among whom all kinship terminology is abolished in favor of equality, clearly points to the possible existence of age groups in the past. This would not be too surprising in view of the close cultural similarities between the Bororo and the other Gê tribes.

114 /112/ The Eastern Bororo have already been described in such detail by Karl von den Steinen and by Padre Antonio Colbacchini that only a few particulars were still left for investigation, especially in what touches on the problems of individual and social life and of cultural change.

131 175 In the middle of the last century the hunting territory of these Indians extented from the Rio Paraguay up to near the city of Goyaz and from the Rio das Mortes up to near Miranda, therefore from about 50° 30' to 57° 30' west longitude and [648] [181] from about 15° to 20° south latitude. It has been believed up to now that the Bororo did not go so far south; but the Tereno who live in the environs of Miranda told me that in past times the hordes of Bororo had frequently come to their aldeias, not making war on them, however, because, as the old Tereno chief Nalikí said, in order to explain this inclination toward peace: "Bororo is very savage and does not stay."

22 [241] But the Bororo were not by any means just a wandering people. They spent only three months of the year, more or less, on large hunting expeditions. The rest of the /113/ time they settled down, planted maize, which they had known from a long time ago, gathered wild fruits, hunted and fished in the environs of their aldeias.

648 167 It is thus, more or less, still today. Only their territory is reduced. In the east, west, and south, they were driven back by the whites, and in the north they had to flee from Indians still unknown, to whom the Bororo give the name of Kayamo.

797 131 In fear of all their neighbors, the Bororo came, more than thirty years ago, to the Salesian missions, which were at that time established on the old road between Cuyabá and the Rio Araguaya. From this road, in other times infested by them, therefore from about 15° 30' south latitude, their present territory extends to about 17° south latitude and from about 53° to about 55° 30' west longitude.

The two principal missions of the Salesians among the Bororo are presently the São José colony on the Rio Sangradouro, tributary of the Rio das Mortes, which the people simply call

6:Kozlk C-8 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

dren. One special house, larger than the others, is built in the center of the plaza. There the unmarried men sleep, and married men work and perform many of their ceremonies, taking advantage of the seclusion it provides from the women and children. All persons in the Bororo village are divided into two groups, or moieties, membership in which is hereditary. The moieties co-operate in work and compete with each other in recreation.

The Bororo were once among the fiercest tribes of Brazil, and warred against whites and other Indians alike. Today the few villages that remain

[p. 39-F]

are pacified and are being affected to an increasing extent by contact with Western civilization. But in much of their ceremonialism these people still retain their native customs. 648 177 [181]

When a death occurs among the Bororo, all the members of the society put aside the activities of their normal routine for several weeks and together perform some thirty separate rituals that constitute their elaborate and protracted funerary ceremony. 764

A few years ago, the author, with the co-operation of the Brazilian Indian Service, had an opportunity to visit the Bororo village of Bayamoga 114

[p. 39-G]
[text continues on p. 40-G]